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OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND.

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THE LIBERATOR.

For it is not, no, Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury and treachery. These may perhaps succeed for once, and borrow awhile from hope a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness, and they fall into ruin of themselves. For as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness, so the grounds and principles of actions should be just and true.—LELAND'S DEMOSTHENES, Orat. II.

SLAVERY AND THE MEANS OF ITS REMOVAL.

An Address pronounced at the request of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society on the evening of March 26, 1832. By ROBERT B. HALL.

It is our high privilege to live in the most favored part of a land, pre-eminently distinguished by the special smiles of Heaven. Living under a government, the mildest and most equitable upon earth; enjoying all the rights and immunities of free citizens; and uncontrolled in the formation and expression of our opinions; it is natural, as well as proper, that we should feel for the woes and sufferings of our fellow men. We have learned to prize liberty by enjoying its fruits; and when the tidings reach our ears from foreign lands, that a portion of our fellow men are striving to obtain that inestimable blessing, even though it should be at the expense of thousands of lives, our hearts exult, and all our best sympathies are called into action. When we hear the shaking among the nations, when we see the thrones of despots tottering to their foundations and crumbling to decay, even though the tempest of war is thundering in our ears, and seas of blood are rolling before our eyes, we rejoice, we sympathize, we assist. Wherever oppression is exercised, there are the sympathies of the American. Whenever the bright banner of freedom is unfurled, then is the American awake and active.

The principle which prompts these ardent, generous feelings, is the love of Liberty: and far, very far distant be the day, when it shall be extinguished in the American bosom. Let it not be absent, during the discussions of this evening. I come to tell you a tale to night, which should make your hearts weep blood. In this boasted land of freedom and of blessedness, amongst a people proverbial for the love of liberty, with their permission and countenance, there are at this moment more than two millions of human beings pining under the galling yoke of Slavery. Yes, in this favored land, there are those who are deprived of the greatest boon of Heaven to men; bought and sold like beasts, torn by the scourge, and lacerated by the cart whip. Men who are made in the image of God, are here bent under the heavy weight of the iron chain,—here their limbs are manacled, and here their minds are fettered in the bondage of ignorance, which they cannot remedy or avoid. In this land, too, there are females with tender sensibilities, made from the same blood, and possessing kindred feelings with ourselves, claimed as the chattels of men, and abused in the most flagrant and shameful manner. And all this is not forbidden, nor is it merely winked at, by our government; it is directly encouraged, and powerfully supported. There are, moreover, those among us, who apologize for this oppression, and there are those who justify and defend it. Strange, indeed, but nevertheless true. And when the horrible system which perpetrates these enormities is disapproved of, it is, in a majority of instances, merely disapproved, without feeling, and often without examination.

I come before you this evening, to endeavor to delineate to you the magnitude of the crime of Slavery, to enlist your sympathies and efforts in its removal, and to state what are believed, by the Society I have the honor to address, to be the most just and efficient means to accomplish its extirpation from the land. I shall speak plainly; and should any expressions of seeming harshness be detected, it will be borne in mind, that I am addressing you on a subject, upon which it is impossible to speak with that coolness which is calculated to lull the conscience, and gloss over the crime. I do not name the propositions which I shall advance, as opinions merely, but as principles which cannot be denied, and which may not be concealed, without trifling with the immutable principles of truth, and the cause of justice and

philanthropy. With these remarks, I would respectfully solicit your candid consideration of the subject of Slavery, and the means of its removal, reminding you that it is a subject of unspeakable importance, and as I hope to show you, one in which we are all deeply interested.

When we look at Slavery as it exists in the world, and especially in our own country, we, who are born and brought up in New-England, are accustomed from our early education to look upon it as an evil, and too often as a misfortune; and having blessed God that we are not troubled with it, heave a sigh, and dismiss the matter from our thoughts. Many of us who consider the matter a little more deeply, are made to believe, that slavery is not so bad a thing as has been represented. We are told that the slaves are happy, are comfortably clothed and lodged, kindly treated, and on the whole, are as well off, as the laboring classes among us; certainly, they are as pleasantly situated as the free blacks in our midst; and are thus led to conclude that although it may be well to abolish it, no great evil will ensue, if this should not take place in our day. Thus, by the sophistry and cunning of interested slaveholders, are we beguiled of that deep sense, which we ought always to possess, of the outrage upon humanity which is constantly practised, in retaining from the slave his birthright—Liberty. But without detailing to you the griefs of the slave, without rehearsing the sad tale of his sorrows and distresses, I shall proceed to show that in at least two all important particulars, slavery is a great crime, a moral and political evil.

First, then, the retaining of a human being in bondage, contrary to the principles of the Christian religion which we as a nation profess.

Singular as it may appear, this proposition is doubted or denied by many, who, in other things, act and reason correctly. It would be very easy to show that the slaveholder in depriving the slave and his offspring of liberty, and in exercising his tyrannical government over them, by his own act, or by occasioning acts of wickedness in the bondsman, breaks every one of the laws of God, as epitomized in what is termed the moral law. This I shall not now stop to prove. I trust I shall not be controverted when I assert, that 'man cannot hold property in man.' The supposition is self-evident; and if there are any who deny it, they will be obliged to admit, that if the white man can hold property in the black man, the black man can by an equal right hold property in the white man. No man can make himself the slave of another. How then, consistently with justice and right, can another be entitled to make his fellow creature a slave? Nothing less than an express warrant from Heaven can justify a man in claiming or keeping another as his property. Unless God himself, whose property we all are, shall give authority to one of his subjects to hold another as his own, the presumptuous wretch who shall dare to assume this right, is guilty of direct robbery of his Sovereign and his God. I shall not stop to prove to you that slavery is inconsistent with justice, mercy, kindness, and love to man, all of which are duties enjoined by the gospel; for I doubt not it will at once be admitted. It will not be pretended that the conduct of the slaveholder, in depriving his victim of his natural rights, harmonizes with that fundamental rule of Christianity,—' Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' It may be said, however, that those who hold slaves at the present day, are suffering under an evil entailed upon them, and that they are not guilty, as all admit the original kidnappers were. Why not? If it is unlawful, wicked, and unchristian, if it is a violation of the laws of God, to steal a man, and force him into bondage; is it not just as wicked, and just as unchristian, to retain him in that state, depriving him of his rights, however he may have been obtained? Are not his rights withheld? Is not something belonging to him kept back? Do you not consider the receiver of stolen goods, and he who places another's property beyond his reach, equally culpable with the prowling thief? The crime is as great in the one case as in the other, and the just judgment of heaven will overtake the one as soon as the other.

In discussing this part of the subject, the question may arise, in the minds of some—how can these principles be reconciled with the permission given by Jehovah in olden time, to his chosen people, to hold slaves? In reply I would observe, that if the American slaveholder could show license from Jehovah to hold slaves at the present time, then the matter would end. But every one knows that this cannot be done. It cannot be denied, that a certain kind of slavery was permitted under the old dispensation; but it was a far different bondage from that which the poor negro suffers in our southern states. But it seems to me, that unless the express permission

of the Almighty, to execute oppression, and to tyrannize over our fellow men, can be pleaded in this case, it should be the part of candor and reason to abandon so fallacious a plea. It will be conceded, also, that slavery is not, in precise words, forbidden in the New Testament. But I would ask, if the spirit of that blessed volume does not everywhere condemn even the shadow of oppression? There are many practices common among men, which are undoubtedly wicked and hateful in the sight of Heaven; and yet by name they are not forbidden; but no man is considered as excusable in their commission, for that reason. But the argument need not rest here. There are numerous passages in the word of God, which are equivalent to a prohibition of this heinous sin. It is said in those holy oracles, ' Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'; and we are informed, that each individual of the human species is our neighbor. Can love to our neighbor be manifested, by holding him in slavery and treating him as a brute? Our Saviour's golden rule, before referred to, reprobates the abomination. The great Apostle of the Gentiles tells those who are masters, ' to give unto their servants that which is just and equal'—' to forbear threatening,' ' knowing that their master is in heaven, and that there is no respect of persons with him.' But what is there in these requisitions consonant with American slavery? What slave receives that which is just and equal? What master is there who forbears threatening, knowing that his master is in heaven? We are taught also in the same scriptures which are appealed to, to support this system, that we are all on a level in the sight of God—all on a level, in regard to the benefits of the Saviour's death. How then can any dream of the sinlessness of keeping those, for whom Christ died, in a worse than Egyptian bondage? Does not the whole spirit of Christianity rather, militate against the objection, and plainly and pointedly teach the law of kindness and brotherly love?

Before disposing of this part of the subject, I will briefly notice one other objection, which has had weight with many minds. It has been urged, that many pious, zealous Christians have held slaves; and this has been considered as evidence that slaveholding was consistent with Christianity. Now it is very possible, that many calling themselves Christians have held their fellow men in bondage; nay more, it is possible, that some who were really Christians, have done it ignorantly. But is this any evidence of Christianity? Is it not rather true, that no real Christian can continue in the constant practice of any known sin? Were we to admit that slaveholding is consistent with Christianity, we should virtually be saying, that justice is not part of religion, and that injustice and oppression are not crimes. We should declare, that faith without works is not dead. Can the principles of justice, mercy and truth be the rule of life to the slaveholder? Does he follow the golden rule? Does he obey Christ? Assuredly not. The man who professes Christianity, and yet delves in the bodies and souls of his fellow men, has by far the greater claim to the appellation of hypocrite, than he can have to that of Christian. As well might you attempt to harmonize the hideous discords of the pit, with the ravishing melody of the celestial choir, as to blend the characters of the slaveholder and the Christian. Enough has now been said, to convince reasonable men that slavery is a crime, utterly inconsistent with the Christian religion. If this is so, it is a great moral evil, calling for immediate reformation and immediate cure. We come now to the next proposition, viz.:

Slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of our free republican institutions.

The fundamental principles upon which our government is built, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, are, 'that all men are born equal, endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' The constitutions of almost all the States in the Union recognized the same principles. These principles lay at the foundation of every free and happy government; and wherever they are not acknowledged and practised upon, there human nature suffers wrong, and there the dearest rights of man are trampled in the dust. But what sort of commentary is our practice as a nation upon that instrument, which, under God, has been the fruitful source of unnumbered blessings to us? Do we not controvert and deny it, by the oppression exercised among us towards two millions of our fellow citizens? Strange inconsistency! at one moment we laud and extol the principle of equality, and anon we apologize for, and defend a system, which despises and derides it. In another point of view it may clearly be seen, that slavery is inconsistent with republicanism. It creates and fosters an aristocratical state of society. Wherever this system exists, giving one man

power over the persons and actions of others, there are as many petty tyrants, as there are masters. The command of the master is a law, which, however unreasonable it may be, must be obeyed, or the hapless victim must suffer a punishment, which among us is considered too ignominious to be administered to the vilest malefactors, even by the civil arm. The master riots on the fruits of the toil of his poor bondsmen, enjoying the greatest luxuries at his ease without any exertion or care on his part; and the consequence is, that he becomes indolent, arrogant, selfish and wilful. Accustomed to unlimited control at home, like a spoiled child, he imagines he can govern every where else. As his commands are submissively obeyed by his slave, he supposes that the expression of his opinion, or the promulgation of his desire or determination, will be sufficient to accomplish his object whenever he chooses to make his sentiments known. Hence that spirit of insubordination, which is constantly manifested in the southern states, and the prevalence of opinions in that quarter, subversive alike of morality and of a free government. It is a well known fact, derived from history, that whenever any nation becomes luxurios, that the time of its destruction is nigh at hand. To cite one instance—Rome, in her first estate, simple, frugal, and industrious, speedily rose to eminence and renown, and became the mistress of the world. Afterwards, as she increased in riches, pomp and splendor, her citizens revelling in the most luxurios, and consequently, in the most enervating practices, she as rapidly decreased in power and in reputation, until her glory was departed, and she became an easy prey to her enemies. So in this happy republic, the same gangrene is fastening upon us, which caused the destruction of that flourishing empire; and unless we are careful to remove it, at no distant day the sad fate of Rome will be ours; and in our fall, the light of the world will be put out, the hope of all nations forever extinguished. Slavery is a promoter of this very luxurios, tending to produce all those disastrous consequences which slowly, but inevitably, follow such a state of society. In this pernicious system, I see the seeds of our destruction as a nation. I view it as a moral poison, affecting the whole body politic, working only to corrupt, and to destroy.

But I am asked, what have we of New-England to do with this subject? I will detain you but a moment while I attempt to show, how much we are interested, and how deeply we are guilty. In the first place, then, and with shame I acknowledge it, we, New-Englanders, have contributed greatly to this mass of wretchedness. While the law permitted, it was our ships, manned with our own brethren, which were seen in greatest abundance along the shores of Africa, to bring away her sons and daughters, and to condemn them to servitude and chains. We, for hire, have ministered to the insatiable desires of the planter—our very cities are adorned with the fruits of this nefarious traffic. And are we not interested in the removal of the very cause we assisted to create? Are we not responsible for some portion of its guilt?

But we are interested and guilty in another way. We not only assisted to establish this system, but we do now, even now, contribute to its support. By our constitutional compact, we are pledged to the support of a congress, having power to call forth the militia to suppress insurrection. We contribute largely to the support of an army, which congress has power, at any time, to command to keep the slaves in subjection; and on a recent occasion, the garrison of Fort Independence, in our very harbor, were ordered southward to assist in perpetrating the iniquitous system. Here do not understand me to approve of insurrection or of bloodshed. By no means. I depurate such events as much as any one; and these facts are only brought to view, as illustrations of the position I have assumed. New-England's bayonets are the constant trust of the slaveholder. He knows that if an insurrection occurs, that all our physical power is at his command; he rests upon this, in his iniquity, and he sleeps secure. We support the system also, by furnishing a market for the productions of slave labor, thus bribing the planter to retain his slaves. And by our listlessness in the cause, and our inactivity, by not using the powers in our possession to overthrow the evil, we are greatly guilty. We have virtually upheld and supported the sin. I do not mean by this that we should take up our arms, and march against the south and compel them by the bayonet to release the slaves; far from it—they are our brethren, and God forbid, that we should spill their blood! And Heaven forgive the man who can hear of such a proposal without horror and indignation! But I do mean, that we should create such a public opinion against the system, that the Planter can remain no longer

easy in his sins. If you ask then, how the monstrous evil can be remedied, you have my answer, by the force of public opinion. By public opinion sitting strongly against this abomination. By public opinion the most effectual, and indeed the only weapon, which can be used in these free and happy states. Let the public be disabused of their prejudices against the blacks, let a correct moral sentiment prevail extensively in our land concerning this subject, and the desired end is accomplished. Slaveholding will become unpopular, it will be considered infamous to persevere in it, and the planter must liberate his slaves. But it is vastly important that the public opinion which is formed, should be correct, and consistent with truth and justice. What then should be the principles upon which this public sentiment should be based? I answer unhesitatingly, the principles of Immediate Emancipation.

Perhaps this doctrine is less understood, and has been the theme of more misrepresentation, than any single theory ever broached in this or any other country. When put in practice, it does not, as is supposed, inevitably lead to bloodshed and to war, but its effects are as diverse from this, as two extremes can possibly be. Its meaning is simply this, and it is a question of right solely, that the Planter should instantly relinquish his pretended right of property in his slave; a right which God never gave him, and which he can obtain in no other way. That the personal liberty of the slave should be no longer abridged, and that he should no longer be considered as a subject of sale. That he should no longer be defrauded of the remuneration due to his labor. Is there any thing in these principles so heinous, so much to be dreaded? It has been observed before, we hold that man cannot possess property in man, and that this is a self-evident principle. It follows then as a necessary consequence, that if this principle is violated, a crime is committed, and an evil is introduced. If we believe then that slavery is an evil now, why should we delay in abolishing it? If it is a sin and a crime, the commands of God imperatively demand its immediate relinquishment. It is admitted by all candid and reasonable men that slavery ought, and will be abolished, sooner or later; but does not every principle that requires that it should be abolished at all, prove that it ought to be abolished now? If slavery is an evil, if it is a crime, we have no right to transmit it to generations yet to come. What right have we to entail upon our offspring that, which will assuredly bring down upon them the withering frown and the heavy curse of Almighty God, even if we are so happy as to escape it? Our Saviour has given us a rule of action which will immediately decide the question of duty in the case before us. Hear ye him. ' Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Let us make the application to ourselves. Suppose your own kindred—the wife of your bosom—the offspring of your mutual love—your parent—your brother—or your sister—pining under the galling chain—scourged at their daily task—compelled to labor for another's profit—what would your ideas of duty be in such circumstances? Reverse the case—there are the wives, the children, the parents, brothers, sisters of the black man suffering in a cruel bondage, miseries the half of which can not be told; and he has the same feelings and the same natural sensibilities which you have. On the supposition that this was your unhappy condition, you would hear of nothing less, or else, than that such oppression and tyranny should instantly cease. Let then your sympathies and your sense of duty, act in the case of these your brethren, as in your own; for they are your brethren, and in the sight of God there is no respect of persons. The course proposed then, is plainly the path of duty:—as accountable creatures, no consideration can take precedence of this. Act then as duty dictates, and leave the event with God.

I shall next consider the principal objections which have come to knowledge against this doctrine, and attempt their refutation. First then it is urged, ' that the emancipated slaves will be a source of great danger to the whites.' Allow me to remark, before we proceed in the examination of the objection, that the burden of proof rests upon the objector, and not upon the friends of Abolition. It is for him to show that the events feared will take place. But from what can it be inferred? From the conduct of the slaves heretofore? When they have arisen in arms, it has been to obtain the very blessing which we propose to give them. When they have it in possession, will the cause of insurrection still exist? Even if they should rise in arms, which, in my view, is granting an absurdity, are we not in possession of the same means of defence, wealth, arms, men, which we ever had? How easily has every insurrection which has yet taken place,

been subdued. Do we find any thing in the enjoyment of liberty, which urges us on to deeds of blood and war? The idea is manifestly absurd. How then can it be supposed, that the poor slave, relieved from the tyranny of his master, the shackles fallen from his limbs, and his whole soul enraptured at the prospect of enjoying his rights, looking on his wife and family as those of a free man, will desire to murder those whom he considers as his benefactors? Should the slaves after their emancipation, become troublesome, indolent, or vicious, it is the duty of the government to enact laws adequate to the necessity of the case, and it has power to enforce those laws. We contend for nothing else but the freedom of the slave from personal bondage—not freedom from law. Give him this, and as a subject of government such laws may be made for controlling him as seem to be just and proper. You may then govern him without depriving him of his dearest rights. But it is said, that the negroes know not how to prize their freedom, and the circumstances of Hayti are appealed to, to support this declaration. But what occasioned the terrible scenes enacted in St. Domingo? Was all that bloodshed and wo occasioned by the slaves in consequence of emancipation? No! the fact is far otherwise. White men instigated them against other white men to serve their own ambitious and wicked purposes. They imitated only the atrocities which the whites committed upon each other, and they executed the commands of their leaders. Behold the Haytians at the present time. What more orderly, industrious, virtuous and prosperous nation is there on the footstool of God, enjoying only equal advantages? It seems to me that if any evidence can be gathered from their situation, it is wholly on the side of the friends of Emancipation. But should the most horrible results, which the most timid slaveholder ever conceived, be fully realized, the duty in the case is plain, and must be performed under any circumstances. Nor should we give ear to their fantasies which are evidently the offspring of a guilty conscience. On no consideration should they be suffered to seduce us from the path of duty.

Again, it is said, 'the slaves will be miserable if emancipated at once.' If the slaves were to be turned upon the world, without any means of support, and ignorant of any method whereby they might make themselves comfortable and happy, their condition would be distressing indeed. But this consequence inseparable from emancipation? In the event of emancipation, the plantations upon which the slaves are now employed, must employ as many hands to carry them on, as now. The labor must be performed by the blacks, and the blacks must labor also in order to support life, and to obtain the means for the comfortable maintenance of their families. If free, they will receive a reward for this labor, sufficient for these purposes; or in case they refuse to support themselves, they will come under the jurisdiction of the laws, as vagrants and vagabonds, and be compelled to labor for their own subsistence. Picture to yourselves, some unfortunate black man, who, having labored as a slave from morning's dawn to night—ill-treated—worse fed, and unremunerated, returns to his wife and children, uncertain whether they still remain to comfort him and to soothe his sorrows, or whether they have been sold by his cruel master to some other tyrant. Mark his faltering step, by reason of his cruel treatment, and the painful anxiety of his care worn countenance—his lacerated back, torn by the driver's lash, and his heavy heart bursting with grief, without the power to better his condition either by entreaties or by force. See him enter his wretched hovel, scared a protection from the cold dews of heaven, there to stretch his aching limbs on some miserable bed, perchance the ground, to weep away the night, and to awake early to a repetition of the same injuries, the same sorrows, and the same hard fare, and say whether any condition is not preferable to this. Give him his freedom, and mark the change. Though he should be obliged to labor hard for his daily bread, yet he is subject to none of their abuses. He has an inducement to labor in the prospect of reward, and in the consciousness that he is laboring for his own comfort, and that of his family. He is contented, for he is free. A thousand privations are welcome, for he is free. Freedom, long desired freedom sweetens the cup of bitterness, and turns his very sorrows into joy.

Another objection is 'That it is unjust to take away the property of the planter without compensation.' This objection would be very valid, if it could by any means be shown that the slaves are the property of their masters. But how absurd the idea. It has been shown repeatedly on this occasion, and it is generally admitted that except as a legal punishment for some crime, the liberty of man is inviolable; in other words, that man cannot have property in man. It is a consideration of no importance whatever how the planter acquired possession of his slave, whether by purchase or inheritance. The tenure is unfounded, and contrary to all correct ideas of right. It is opposed to nature, to religion, and to reason. If he purchased his slave, he purchased that which he knew, or might have known, was illegally and unjustly obtained. If he inherited him, the case is not changed, for his ancestors had no right to him; and if he acquired him by stealing him from his native country, he cannot pretend any righteous title, and the law makes him a pirate and a felon. And I will remark in this place, that if the law makes it a felony, punishable with death, to obtain a slave from his native country, there is no good reason why it should not be considered an equal crime to transfer the slave to another, and should not be visited with the same tremendous punishment. If the planter then, has no just right of property in the slave, what claim can he have to compensation if his slave is taken from him? It would be only taking away that which is not his, nor ever can be. Nor can the slaveholder ask for compensation on the plea that

he was ignorant of the guilt and unlawfulness of embarking his property in slaves. In a christian country like this, with so many means of moral and religious education, he might have known the utter enormity of the crime, and is inexcusable for not improving the means of knowledge within his reach. And no planter who has come in possession of his slaves in the present enlightened age, could have embarked in the traffic, without knowing that it was the intention of all the wise and good speedily to put an end to the nefarious system. But allowing that the slaves are the property of the planters, they cannot reasonably claim any compensation. They have been gaining by the system we wish to abolish. The slave has repaid his master twenty times over the price of his liberty. If the system were not profitable, would they not wish to abolish it? Sure am I, that they are not in the exercise of such ardent desires to promote the best interest of their slaves, as to sacrifice their own wealth to their convenience. But when we talk of compensation, is there no other quarter from which it is demanded? Is it not due first to the suffering slave? Think of the many long and painful years of unrequited toil—think of the wrongs, the sufferings, the privations he has endured; think of the stripes, the debasement, and the long black catalogue of unnumbered evils with which he has been visited, and then decide who is entitled to compensation. Satisfy the just claims of the slave first, and then if your coffers are not exhausted, and your conscience will permit, the oppressor may be compensated; but not till then. One word more: the very idea of compensation supposes that some loss has been sustained. But it may be made to appear, that in the event of emancipation, not only there will be no loss to the planter, but eventually great gain; and this is demonstrable from what is known of the comparative value of slave and free labor, and also from the advantages arising from the relation of master and servant, in distinction from the evils attendant on the connection of tyrant and slave. And here I will adduce the testimony of several distinguished men, to show the vast superiority of free labor over that wrung from the miserable slave. Says Mr. Jefferson in his 'Notes on Virginia,' speaking of slavery, 'It has reduced the value of land in Virginia to little more than one fourth of what it is in Pennsylvania.' Mr. Pitt, in the debate on the slave trade, in the British legislature, 1792, uses the following language: 'If you restore to this degraded race the true feelings of men; if you take them out of the level of brutes, and place them on a level with the rest of the human species, they will then work with that energy which is natural to men, and their labor will be productive in a thousand ways above what it has been, as the labor of a man is always more productive than that of a mere brute.' In the same speech, Mr. Pitt quotes, from the answer of the Assembly of Grenada to the queries sent out to them by the privy council of Great Britain regarding the labor of the negroes, these words: 'Though the negroes are allowed the afternoon of only one day in the week, they will do as much work in that afternoon when employed for their own benefit, as in the whole day when employed in their master's service.' 'This,' says Mr. Pitt, 'is their own account. If you will believe the planters, if you will believe the legislature of the Islands, the productive labor of the Colonies would, in case the negroes worked as free laborers instead of slaves, be literally doubled. Half the present laborers, on this supposition, would suffice for the whole cultivation of our Islands on the present scale.' Though a vast amount of evidence derived from actual experiment might be placed before you, yet I will weary you only with the following sentiments of our own Dr. Morse, the distinguished Geographer. He says: 'From repeated and accurate calculations, has been found that the expense of maintaining a slave, if we include the purchase money, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man; and the labor of a free man, influenced by the powerful motive of gain, is at least twice as profitable to the employer as that of a slave.' The testimony here adduced will be sufficient to convince you that free labor is more productive to the planter than slave labor, and consequently it is really for the interest of the planter, that the principles we have advocated should prevail. It may be shown also, that the effects of a system of free labor are infinitely more salutary on the morals and happiness of society, by how much the more it is superior to that system which violently extorts from the injured slave his daily toil. We are told in the next place, 'That immediate emancipation is inexpedient.' This question of expediency or inexpediency, must be decided only by what appears to be duty; for it is an incontrovertible axiom in morals, that it is always expedient to follow duty, and inexpedient always to neglect it. Whatever course appears to be that of duty, must be followed, notwithstanding the dark forebodings which may arise in the mind with respect to the event. Our actions are our own and for them we are accountable, and so far as we obey the commands of God and the dictates of our consciences, consequences are nothing to us—they belong to God. Though to the eye of a selfish worldly policy, obedience to the claims of justice and philanthropy may appear inexpedient; yet to do justly and to love mercy, are duties which may not be avoided on any such consideration. But we contend that it is not inexpedient—we think we are prepared to prove that the expediency is all on the side of immediate abolition—that that is the only way to secure the object in view. For there is any reason to believe, that there will ever be any more opportune time to crush this Hydra-headed monster than the present? Slaveholders may amuse us by the phantom of gradual abolition, but that plan which would meet their views would be so gradual, that eternity itself would not afford sufficient time to accomplish it. Is the moral sentiment of the community growing more pure, and taking a higher tone every day, that we

should delay? Is not the contrary rather the fact, and is there not reason to suppose that if the present generation make no progress in this cause, that slavery will be an eternal blot on our national character?

Again, it is said, by the opponents of emancipation, 'that the blacks can never be equal with the whites, and therefore all efforts to emancipate or elevate them, are visionary and futile.' I should not have noticed this objection so manifestly absurd, were it not that the force of prejudice is so strong, as sometimes to warp the judgment of the wisest and the best. A prejudice is generated in our infancy against the blacks, which grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength, until our eyes are opened to this folly by a more correct feeling, which is the result of more extensive and accurate information respecting their character and situation. To suffer this prejudice to usurp the place of reason and our better judgment is a fault exceedingly common; and on examination it will be found, that the objection under consideration is a consequence of this infirmity. Why should not the black man be equal with the white man, in his capacities for enjoying happiness? Is there any thing in his constitution so peculiar, that he may not be educated, that his mind may not be improved? It does not rightfully belong to the assertors of his equality to prove the fact, for it is held to be self-evident. The *onus probandi* is on the other side. It is for the objector to prove the contrary. But there are principles supported by numerous facts, which are sufficient to establish the doctrine of equality, to the satisfaction of any candid, rational man. Reason, scripture and common sense concur to make it certain. We are told in the word of God, that he 'made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.' True, the black man is one of the species of the human race, but it would be difficult to prove whether black or white was the original standard color. We have no certain data from which to form an opinion. But can their color make a difference in that immortal part which constitutes all that is really distinctive in man? Can the mind be affected by the color of the skin? The idea is preposterous in the extreme. We will appeal to facts in this matter. One of the greatest and most potent of the cities of the earth—Rome's dreaded rival—the terror of the surrounding nations—the seat of wealth, refinement, and of luxury—Carthage, renowned in history for her warlike achievements, and for her mighty men—was situated in Africa, and peopled by the ancestors of these very men. Egypt, the head quarters of learning, the most civilized of all the ancient nations, with all her stupendous monuments, with her statues, her pyramids, her glory and her pomp, her heroes, her men of genius, and her mighty kings, was an African nation. But to come down to modern times. There are Hayti, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, a nation and colonies composed almost exclusively of blacks. What nations are there on the face of the earth more happy and prosperous, or under better government than these? They stand forth to the world an irresistible demonstration of the truth, that the negro released from his thralldom, and permitted like other men to walk abroad in the undisturbed enjoyment of his rights—knows how to prize those rights, and how to enjoy them. There they are, a spectacle for the world to gaze upon. To them I appeal to controvert the objection we have considered. I would that those who urge this plea in the whole day when employed in their master's service.' 'This,' says Mr. Pitt, 'is their own account. If you will believe the planters, if you will believe the legislature of the Islands, the productive labor of the Colonies would, in case the negroes worked as free laborers instead of slaves, be literally doubled. Half the present laborers, on this supposition, would suffice for the whole cultivation of our Islands on the present scale.' 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right to them? Forbid it, heaven! Where, O where my hearers is your benevolence? where is your sense of justice? where is your love of liberty and right, if you can see these scenes unmoved, and listen to a plea involving such detestable principles, and such soul sickening results? Even if these planters should be impoverished by giving up their slaves, it would scarcely be an adequate judgment upon them for their crimes. Think not, my friends, that in thus denouncing slavery, I indulge in feelings of revenge or malice, towards the authors of these accumulated miseries; far from it. I see, and pity them, in the commission of these heaven daring abominations; but it is time that things should be called by their right names, that the truth should be spoken to arouse their slumbering conscience. If Emancipation can be accomplished only by the sacrifice of some part of the ease and comfort of the planters, let it be done! How much to be preferred are the rights and happiness of the many, to the enjoyment of the few. No great moral evil is ever overthrown, without occasioning some distress. Nor will our land be purged of this enormity, without similar effects. We are to lop off a troublesome and polluted limb, and the knife must be applied. We are to root out a Bohemian Upas, which must be eradicated, even though a thousand tender plants, clustering around it, must be expelled also.

Thus have I brought before you all the most plausible objections which have been advanced against immediate emancipation, and I flatter myself that enough has been said to show their futility. I shall now trespass upon your patience, only while you permit me to examine certain theories which have been advanced to overthrow slavery, and if I succeed in manifesting their insufficiency to accomplish this desired end, we shall consider the proposition defended this evening, as established beyond doubt. While I examine the theories of others, you will not understand me to impugn the motives of any who are concerned in their defence or propagation. I disclaim any such intention. Nor in opposing them can I be supposed to be under the influence of prejudice, inasmuch as I have supposed them both heretofore to be the most proper manner of abolishing slavery. I have objections to the system of gradual abolition because I believe it to be unjust and iniquitous. I am opposed to the colonization scheme, because on examination, it appears to be impracticable as well as unjust. For these opinions, I will endeavor to give my reasons as briefly as may be. The friends of gradual abolition suppose that the most effectual way to extirpate the curse of slavery from the land, is by enacting laws which shall, after a certain date, manumit those who have attained to a certain age. But this is manifestly unjust; for it permits great numbers of the slaves to remain in slavery, and winks at the wickedness of the slaveholders in retaining them in that condition; for every argument which proves that any slave ought to be made free, proves that every slave ought to be emancipated also, the circumstance of his age having no connection whatever with the eternal and immutable principles of justice. This system condescends to compromise with the planter, and does not keep in view the iniquity of his practice, and overlooks that great fundamental principle of Liberty, that man cannot hold property in man. Such a system then, interfering with the claims of duty, ought not to be countenanced or supported. That the system of Colonization as far as relates to the removal of slavery is impracticable will appear on a moment's consideration. As far as I can learn, it does not in reality seek to remove slavery—certainly it does not hold with any great distinctness the guilt of the slaveholder. This I infer from the fact that most slaveholders are as ardent in their attachment to it, as any of our New-England philanthropists. This would not be the case, it would seem, if its doctrines were such as were calculated to make them uneasy in their sins. If I understand the principles upon which the colonizationists propose to act, they are these: that the free blacks should be removed to Liberia, together with those slaves which may be manumitted by their masters. In attempting to show that slavery can never be removed in this way, I shall avail myself of the calculations made by that distinguished philanthropist, Chas. Stuart of the Royal Navy. The annual increase of the slaves is about 56,000, and to export these at \$20 per head, which is \$10 less than the average price of transportation, it would require \$1,200,000 yearly. And this to remove the increase merely. If you wish to extinguish the crime in 30 years, 100,000 must be exported annually, which could not be done at an expense of less than \$2,000,000, and if this vast number must be purchased, it would require \$20,000,000 more. From whence could this enormous sum be obtained? From these calculations I think it must be obvious to every one, that the scheme is impracticable. But what shall we say of the injustice of this procedure? Even if all the requisite treasure could be obtained to export this great number of slaves, while the process is going on, 2,000,000 would die in slavery. It cannot be denied that this is alike the home, the native country of the free blacks and the slaves. Africa is no more their home than England is ours. To expatriate them, then, is a flagrant act of injustice; which, if attempted to be exercised towards any one of us, would be deemed a sufficient cause for a war of desolation and of blood. To go right forward in the cause of justice and of right, to walk by the evidence of the light of truth, requires not, so immense an amount of treasure: the path is simple, easy, straight.

Nothing now remains, my dear hearers, but that I should bring before you some considerations calculated to influence you to put forth your energies in the holy cause of human rights and human happiness. You have seen the enormous evils and crying guilt of that system which holds from our fellow men all that is dear, and all that is desirable. You have seen, that it is inconsistent with Christianity and opposed to Republicanism? You have been shewn also how much you are interested in its continuance or abolition; and I am now ready to submit it to your sober judgment, to your consciences, and to your sense of duty, whether the plan which has been proposed, is not the most just and reasonable method which has been devised, to put an end to this threatening curse. If it is not based on the firmest foundation, if it is not supported by the eternal principles of truth, it is your duty to reject it. If it is, on the other hand, firmly established, and consistent with the word of God, imperative duty to embrace it, and act upon it. It belongs to you as individuals composing the community, to take sides on this question, to form correct principles, and to extend abroad your influence, in favor of truth and justice. Each one of you must assist in forming that public sentiment which can alone overthrow slavery; and for the discharge or neglect of this duty, you will be accountable to your final Judge. Act, I beseech you, in reference to that great solemn day of account which is fast approaching. Let not your brother's blood cry out against you from the ground in that awful hour.

Christians! I appeal to you. If you have any regard for the honor of that blessed religion you profess to love—if you have any desire that the glory of God may be promoted—if you would obey the dictates of duty—if you would wash your hands from guilt of blackest dye—I call upon you to assist in the emancipation of your fellow men from bondage.

Americans! By your love of your country—by your desire for her prosperity and happiness—by your hopes and fears—and by your regard for your own best interests—I adjure you to assist in banishing from the land, this horrible abomination, which will ere long, if not removed, dredge this fair land in blood, and in a fearful manner accomplish our destruction.

Philanthropists, and men! I implore you to consider the wrongs and sufferings of your brethren; to consider the blood and the tears, the groans and sighs, the miseries and woes of millions of your fellow creatures, and in view of these, to act consistently, to act as duty dictates. Do this, and the bed of death shall be a couch of joy to you. Do this, and when we shall again assemble around the judgment seat of Christ, you shall hear with rapture, amid the thunderous shouts of the whole army of Heaven, the approving declaration of your holy Judge, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

#### SLAVERY RECORD.



For the Liberator.

#### LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPERS.

Three men of color and one woman were taken up in this place, last week, as runaway slaves, at the instigation of some prowling villains. The woman was born free in this State, in the town of Bedford. She was, however, released. One of the colored men, named Ben, fought hard for his liberty, and cut with an axe the hand of one of the men who took him. His accomplice said, 'Knock him down!' Accordingly he took up a club, and broke one of Ben's arms in two places. When Ben was brought to jail, frightened half to death, a hardened savage claimed to be his master. The other two victims are still in jail, to be tried—for what? No—but for being black men, and born in the State of Maryland. Assuredly a most heinous crime!

**Lewistown, (Pa.) March 28, 1832.**

**RICHMOND, (Indiana,) March 28.**

**KIDNAPPING.**

A colored boy belonging to this place, about 11 years of age, has lately disappeared, under circumstances calculated to induce the belief that he has been kidnapped, by a man of the name of Harris, who is about 26 years of age, six feet two or three inches high, black hair and eyes, dark complexion, and rather stoop-shouldered. Said Harris came to this neighborhood in the early part of the winter, and has remained here until about a week since. He is said to be from Kentucky, where he has a wife and child. He is said to be a great gambler, and that he trades in horses and negroes. He had taken up his residence about three miles from this place, with a Mr. Hopper, or Harper, and on Wednesday of last week, the 14th inst., he was in town, and went to a very respectable colored man, named Nimmrod Sibley, and hired said Nimmrod's son—saying that he was about to be married, and that the boy might return in a week. On the next (Thursday) night, however, he decamped, taking the boy, and a young woman, Mr. Hopper's daughter with him, and it has not yet been ascertained what course he has taken. The young woman who eloped with him was heard to say, a few days before he left, that he had five horses, but the brother of the young woman states that he had but three. The boy is in his 11th year, not so black as a full-blonded negro, and somewhat slow of speech. His clothing has not been described to us.—Harris wore a suit of Jones, and had also a superfine blue cloth dress coat, which was made in this place; he is very genteel in his appearance and address, but a little slow of speech. Neither the person nor dress of the young woman has been described, further than that she had a new saddle.

A number of the most respectable citizens of this town and neighborhood have authorised us to say, that a reward of at least one hundred dollars will be given for delivery of Harris and the boy to this town.—*Palladium*.

**Charleston, March 31.**—Fifteen negroes, of different ages, manumitted by Mr. Stewart, of the state, passed through Fayetteville, on Thursday of last week, on their way to Norfolk, there to make passage for Liberia.

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**ANOTHER DISAPPEARANCE**—A colored woman, name Rebecca Robinson, upwards of seventy years of age, left her residence in Schuyler Second street, between Race and Vine streets, on Saturday last, and although every inquiry has been made, she has not been heard of since. She was temperate in her habits, a stranger in the city, and left the house on an errand intending to return in a few minutes. She wore a dark gown, black shawl and check apron.—Any information respecting her, will be gratefully received by her daughter, whose residence is above mentioned.—*Philad. paper.*

From Poulson's Daily Advertiser.

#### TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION.

I have just been furnished with the following bill, reported a few days since in the House of Repre-

sentatives, the purport of which cannot fail to excite the astonishment and indignation of every friend of

human liberty. We have certainly fallen upon evil

times, when such propositions as are contained in

this bill, can find tolerance in a Pennsylvania Legis-

lature.—What right have we to exclude the free

blacks or mulattoes, who are citizens of other States,

from unrestrained ingress into Pennsylvania, any

more than we should have to exclude swarthy col-

ored natives of Spain, or Italy, or France, who

might have acquired rights of citizenship in a neigh-

boring state? The framers of the bill ought to have

stated the exact shade of color which should deprive

a citizen of his rights, and render the Constitution of

the United States of no avail with regard to him.

We infringe upon the provisions of this charter of

our liberties just as much when we deprive a black

or mulatto citizen of the rights of residence or in-

gress, which that instrument guarantees, as when

we commit the same act in reference to one, the

color of whose skin may be a few shades lighter.

Every citizen of the United States has a right of

ingress into every State of the Union, and of resi-

dence therein, expressly granted to him by the Fed-

eral Constitution. The iniquity of the bill under

discussion, however, does not alone consist in the

exclusion we have alluded to. It further prohibits

any colored citizen of Pennsylvania from changing

his residence from one county of the State to another,

without giving security in the sum of five hun-

dred dollars, or carrying about with him a pass, du-

ly signed and certified, as is the case with slaves in

the West Indies, and in our Southern States. It

also imposes a heavy penalty upon any citizen who

may happen, even accidentally, to employ a colored

man, who has neglected to give the requisite se-

curity, or who has perhaps lost or mislaid his pass.

Half of this penalty is to go to any vagabond who

may turn informer against his humane neighbor,

who may have given employment to a fellow crea-

ture, with a dark skin. We do most sincerely hope

that the Statute Book of Pennsylvania, will never

be disgraced with such a law as this. Ten years ago,

such was the disposition which existed in this

State, to protect the oppressed blacks, (even the fu-

ture slaves,) that no man would have dared to de-

fend such a bill upon the floor of our Assembly,

and shall Pennsylvania now commence a new sys-

tem of oppression upon this defenseless people,

when the slaveholding states are relaxing the sever-

ity of their ancient systems? We trust that every

Representative from the city and county of

Philadelphia, will record his vote against this

unjust and unconstitutional bill, and that it will not

be hurried through at the end of the session, when

time cannot be allowed for the expression of the

voice of the people against it. ARISTIDES.

An act to prohibit the migration of Negroes and

Mulattoes into the Commonwealth.

SECTION 1st. Be it enacted by the Senate and

House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of

Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and is

hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That

from and after the first day of June next, no negro

or mulatto person shall be permitted to emigrate in-

to and settle in this state, unless such negro or mu-

latto person shall, within twenty days after his or

her arrival in any county of this state, enter into

Bond to the Commonwealth, with one or more suffi-

cient sureties, before the Clerk of the Court of

Quarter Sessions of such county, to be approved by

such Clerk, in the penal sum of five hundred dol-

lars, conditioned for the good behaviour of such ne-

gro or mulatto person; and, moreover, for the main-

tenance of such person, in case he or she should be-

come chargeable as a pauper on any city, county or

towmship in this Commonwealth.

SECTION 2d. And be it further enacted by the au-

thority aforesaid, That if any negro or mulatto per-

son shall remain into, and remain within this state,

longer than the term prescribed by the first section

of this act, without having complied with the pro-

visions thereof, it shall be the duty of the Constable

of any ward, borough, or township, either on his

own view, or on the information of any other per-

son, to arrest such negro or mulatto person, and

take him or her before some Alderman or Justice of

the Peace, who shall inflict such punishment as now

directed in the case of vagrants.

SECTION 3d. And be it further enacted by the au-

thority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of the

Clerk of the court, to furnish to each negro or mu-

latto person, who shall have given the bond pre-

scribed by the first section of this act, a certificate,

under the seal of his office, of that fact. And if any

inhabitant of this state shall employ, harbor, or con-

ceal, any such negro or mulatto person, who shall have

come into this state after the first day of June next,

and continue therein, without having complied with

the provisions of this act, every such person shall

forfeit and pay for every such offence, the sum of

five dollars, to be recovered before any Alderman of

a City, or Justice of the Peace of a County, in

which such offence shall have been committed, by

action of debt, in the name of the Commonwealth,

one half of such penalty to be paid to the informer,

and the other half to the proper overseers or directors

of the poor, in such city, township, or county.

SECTION 4th. And be it further enacted by the au-

thority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of each

Assessor of the several wards of the cities, and of

the several townships in this Commonwealth, in ad-

dition to the duties now required of him, to take a

census of all negro or mulatto persons, who shall have

resided within such ward or township, or before

the first day of June next, entering thereon

the name, complexion, sex, and age of each, as

nearly as he can ascertain it, and return such census

to the Commissioners of the county, and the said

Commissioners shall cause Alphabetic lists of all

such negro and mulatto persons so returned, and

found resident in the county, to be made out, desig-

nating the name, complexion, sex and age of each,

and the ward or township in which each has resi-

ded, and a copy thereof to be delivered to each Al-

derman, and Justice of the Peace, and Clerk of the

Court of Quarter Sessions, of such city or county.

And every negro or mulatto who shall remove from

one county to another, within this state, shall be li-

able to the penalties of the first and second sections

of this act, unless he or she shall produce the certi-

ficate of the Clerk of said Court, or of a Just ce of the

Peace, or Alderman, of the district from which he

removed, of his residence therein, of which said cer-

tificate shall be evidence.

**Tyranny and Oppression.**—We read with some

degree of surprise an article under this title in Pou-

son's Daily Advertiser. The people of Pennsylva-

nia from the first settlement of that state, have uni-

formly borne a character for philanthropy and the ex-

ercise of social and benevolent virtues, which has been denied to some of the other members of our national union. But should the bill, now under consideration in her house of Representatives, pass into a law, her claim to such an enviable superiority may well be doubted.

It appears to us, that such a bill is unconstitutional—and unjust and oppressive it most certainly is. What is become of the colored population, if they are to be driven from state to state, and allowed no resting-place for the sole of the foot, without giving bonds of five hundred dollars? Probably not one in five hundred could comply with such a requisition. If the free blacks can exist only on such terms, they may well curse the day that relieved them from slavery, for slavery must be an enviable state compared with such freedom.—*Boston Courier.*

#### BOSTON,

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1832.

#### IMPERTINENCE.

Not satisfied with duping the people of this country, the American Colonization Society some time last year sent out an agent to England, named Eliot Cresson, to impose upon the credulity and kindness of its inhabitants. He has, we believe, partially succeeded; and to him the nation is probably indebted for a petition, signed by forty British subjects, beseeching Congress to favor the colonization, which was presented in the House of Representatives on Monday, April 2. A more impudent act we have never known. The debate upon this anomalous presentation was extremely ardent, of which we shall publish next week. From its complexion we are confident that the Colonization Society has nothing to expect from Congress. The English petition was introduced by Mr Mercer of Virginia, one of the stoutest pillars of the Society. In the course of his remarks, Mr M. made the following avowal, which might be considered its parallel. Look at this!

*[¶] The abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, that he had been a slaveholder, he at once emancipated his bondsmen; for the Christians of the apostle did not comprehend, (as the Macon Repertory asserts,) how a man can ever, that a person who buys, barters, drives, and holds slaves has not even a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and yet profess to be a Christian. To such 'unaccountables' they would have propounded the pungent retort: 'thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?' Hence it is recorded as one of the most blissful and beneficial triumphs of Christianity in the first centuries of its existence, that it completely exterminated the servile system wherever it swayed; and as soon as it exercises its legitimate influence in the southern states, the fitters of despotic iniquity will be shivered to atoms.*

But to emancipate two millions of slaves, and leave them here! Distracting thought! Prove, Mr T., our right to expel them, and the insufficiency of your claim to freedom. Can you do this? If not, shall we force them away, or continue to oppress them, to escape the 'maddening thought' of emancipation?

But if the Society fail to remove the blacks, we must sit down in quiet submission to the wise and unknown decrees of Providence! Indeed! But suppose the slaves will not follow our example, and should disturb our reverie by an insurrection—what shall we do?

Again:

'They have taken the free black that, as a class, dwells among us a living nuisance, nominally free, but bowed to the ground by public opinion—in one part of the country dull as a bruiser beast, in another the wild stirrer up of sedition and insurrection—they have shewn him to be capable of quiet and judicious self-government—they have instructed him in the arts of civilized life, and held him up as a model to the rude tribes around him. They have converted the curse of one world into the blessing of the other.'

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## LITERARY.

[For the Liberator.]

## LINES WRITTEN IN A YOUNG LADY'S ALBUM.

BY W. J. SNELLING.

The youth and bloom that maidens prize  
Are transient, not enduring things;  
Old age will dim the brightest eyes,  
Time shakes gray tresses from his wings.  
The limbs will fail,  
The cheek turn pale;  
The negress and Circassian must  
Assume one color in the dust.

In summer days the groves grow green,  
And buds and blossoms deck the trees;  
But Autumn spoils their glories sheen,  
And leaves them naked to the breeze:  
The branches fall  
By Boreas fall;  
They wither on the ground below,  
And Winter covers them with snow.  
So on the glowing cheek of youth  
The lilies blow, the roses bloom;  
But, hence more oft told truth,  
They lose their lustre in the tomb.  
In churchyard laid,  
The roses fade.  
The lips of love, the cheek that glows,  
Grim death upon the worm bestows.

## THE WESTERN WORLD.

BY BRYANT.

Late, from this western shore, has morning chased  
The deep and ancient night, that threw its shroud  
O'er the green land of groves, the beautiful waste,  
Nurse of full streams, and lifter up of proud  
Sky-mingling mountains that o'erlook the cloud.  
 Ere while, where you gay spires their brightness  
rear,  
Trees waved, and the brown hunter's shouts were  
loud  
Amid the forest; and the bounding deer  
Fled at the glancing plume, and the gaunt wolf yelled  
near.

And where his willing waves you bright blue bay  
Sends up, to kiss his decorated brim,  
And cradles, in his soft embrace, the gay  
Young group of grassy islands born of him,  
And, crowding nigh, or in the distance dim,  
Lifts the white throng of sails, that bear or bring  
The commerce of the world—with tawny limb,  
And bell and beads in sunlight glistening,  
The savage urged his skiff like wild bird on the wing.

Then, all his youthful paradise around,  
And all the broad and boundless mainland, lay  
Cooled by the interminable wood, that frowned  
O'er mound and vale, where never summer ray  
Glanced, till the strong tornado broke his way  
Through the gray giants of the sylvan wild,  
Yet many a sheltered glade, with blossoms gay,  
Beneath the showery sky and sunshine mild,  
Within the shaggy arms of that dark forest stiled.

There stood the Indian hamlet, there the lake  
Spread its blue sheet that flashed with many an ear,  
Where the brown otter plunged him from the brake,  
And the deer drank—as the light gale flew o'er,  
The twinkling maize-field rustled on the shore;  
And while that spot, so wild, and lone, and fair,  
A look of glad and innocent beauty wore,  
And peace was on the earth and in the air,  
The warrior lit the pile, and bound his captive there:

Not unavenged—the foeman, from the wood,  
Beheld the dead, and, when the midnight shade  
Was stillest, gorged his battle-axe with blood;  
All died—the wailing babe—the shrieking maid—  
And in the flood of fire that seathed the glade,  
The roofs went down; but deep the silence grew  
When on the dewy woods the day-break played;  
No more the cabin smokes rose wreathed and blue,  
And ever by their lake lay moored the light canoe.

Look now abroad—another race has filled  
These populous borders—wide the wood recedes,  
And town shoot up, and fertile realms are filled;  
The land is full of harvests and green meads;  
Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,  
Shine dismembered, and give sun and breeze  
Their virgin waters: the full region leads  
New colonies forth, that toward the western seas  
Spread, like a rapid flame among the autumnal trees.

Here, the free spirit of mankind, at length,  
Throws its last fetter off; and who shall place  
A limit to the giant's unchained strength,  
Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?  
Far, like the comet's way through infinite space,  
Stretches the long untravelled path of light  
Into the depth of ages: we may trace,  
Afar, the brightening glory of its flight,  
Till the receding rays are lost to human sight.

## ON THE DEATH OF A YOUNG LADY OF FIVE YEARS OF AGE.

BY PHILLIS WHATELEY, AN AFRICAN SLAVE.

From dark abodes to fair ethereal light  
Th' enraptured innocent has winged her flight;  
On the kind bosom of eternal love  
She finds unknown beatitude above.  
This know, ye parents, nor her loss deplore,  
She feels the iron hand of pain no more;  
The dispensations of unerring grace  
Should turn your sorrows into grateful praise.  
Let then no tears for her henceforward flow,  
No more distressed in our dark vale below.

Her morning sun, which rose divinely bright,  
Was quickly mantled by the gloom of night;  
But hear in heaven's blest bower your Nancy fair,  
And learn to imitate her language there:  
'Thou, Lord, whom I beheld with glory crowned,  
By what sweet name, and in what tuneful sound  
Wilt thou be praised? Seraphic powers are faint,  
Infinite love and majesty to paint.  
To thee let all their grateful voices raise,  
And saints and angels join their songs of praise.'

Perfect in bliss, she from her heavenly throne  
Looks down, and smiling, beckons you to come;  
Why then, fond parents, why these fruitless groans?  
Restrain your tears, and cease your plaintive moans.  
Free from a world of sin, and snares, and pain,  
Why would you wish your daughter back again?  
No—bow resigned. Let hope your grief control,  
And check the rising tumult of the soul.  
Adore the God who gives and takes away;  
Eye him in all, his holy name revere,  
Upright your actions, and your hearts sincere,  
Till, having sailed through life's tempestuous seas,  
And from its rocks and boisterous billows free,  
Yourselves, safe landed on the blissful shore,  
Shall join your happy babe to part no more.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

The memorial of the people of color of the city of Philadelphia and its vicinity, respectfully sheweth:

That they have learned with deep regret that two resolutions have passed the House of Representatives of this commonwealth, directing the committee on the judiciary to inquire—First, into the expediency of passing a law to protect the citizens of this commonwealth against the evils arising from the emigration of free blacks from other states into Pennsylvania; and, secondly, into the expediency of repealing so much of the acts of Assembly passed on the 27th of March, 1820, and the 25th of March, 1826, as relates to fugitives from labor from other states, and of giving full effect to the act of Congress of the 12th of February, 1793, relative to such fugitives.

At the same time that your memorialists entertain the most perfect respect for any expression of sentiment emanating from so high a source as one of the legislative bodies of Pennsylvania, they cannot but lament, that at a moment when all mankind seem to be struggling for freedom, and endeavoring to throw off the shackles of political oppression, the constituted authorities of this great state should entertain a resolution which has a tendency to abridge the liberties heretofore accorded to a race of men confessedly oppressed. Our country asserts for itself the glory of being the freest upon the surface of the globe. She wrested that freedom, while yet in her infancy, by force of arms, at the expense of infinite blood and treasure, from a gigantic and most powerful adversary. She proclaimed freedom to all mankind—and offered her soil as a refuge to the enslaved of all nations. The brightness of her glory was radiant, but one dark spot still dimmed its lustre. Domestic slavery existed among a people who had themselves destined to submit to a master. Many of the states of this union hastened to wipe out this blot: and foremost in the race was Pennsylvania. In less than four years after the declaration of independence by the act of 1st March, 1789, she abolished slavery within her limits, and from that time her avowed policy has been to enlarge and beautify this splendid feature in her system—to preserve unimpaired the freedom of all men, whatever might be the shade of complexion with which it may have pleased the Almighty to distinguish them. "All men," says our declaration of rights, "are born equally free and independent"—and "have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness." "All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience." "The people shall be secure in their persons, houses and possessions, from unreasonable searches and seizures. No person shall be proceeded against criminally by information. No person shall be put twice in jeopardy by due course of law." Where, in this forcible epitome of man's indefeasible rights, promulgated nine years after the African race had been elevated to freedom—where, in this declaration of the people of this commonwealth, assembled in convention, do we find a distinction drawn between the man whose skin is white, and him whose skin is dark? Where, in the legislative acts of this commonwealth, under the constitution, and subsequent to this declaration, do we find such a distinction? On what page of our statute book does it appear? It is confidently asserted that in Pennsylvania it does not exist—and has been repudiated and banished from her code. "It is not for us to enquire," says the benevolent preamble to the act of 1790, "it is not for us to enquire, why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion—it is sufficient for us to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand!" And from that day to the present, Pennsylvania has acted upon a principle, that among those whom the same Almighty hand has formed, the hand of man should not presume to make a difference. And why, we respectfully ask, is this distinction now to be proclaimed for the first time in the code of Pennsylvania? Why are her borders to be surrounded by a wall of iron, against freemen, whose complexions fall below the wavering and uncertain shades of white? For this is the only criterion of admission or exclusion which the resolutions indicate. It is not to be asked, is he brave—is he honest—is he just—is he free from the stain of crime—but is he black—he brown—is he yellow—is he other than white?

This is the criterion by which Pennsylvanians, who for fifty years has indignantly rejected the distinction, who daily receives into her bosom all men, from all nations, is now called upon to reject from her soil, such portions of a banished race of freemen, born within view of her own mountains, as may seek within her limits a place of rest. We respectfully ask, is not this the spirit of the first resolution? And why, we repeat, shall this abandonment of the principles of your honorable forefathers now first take place in Pennsylvania? Have the rights we now possess been abused? The domestic history of Pennsylvania answers these questions in the negative. Who can turn to the page in that history which exhibits a single instance of insurrection or violation of the peace of society, resulting from the residence of a colored population in the commonwealth. The story of their wrongs may be read in the most eloquent productions of our law givers. The story of the injuries which the people of Pennsylvania have sustained from them, cannot be found, because it does not exist. Your memorialists are aware that prejudice has been recently excited against them by unfounded reports of their concurrence in promoting servile insurrections. With the feeling of honest indignation, by conscious innocence, they repel the slander. They feel themselves to be citizens of Pennsylvania. Many of them were descended from ancestors, who were raised with yours on this soil, to which they feel bound by the strongest ties. As children of the state, they look to it as a guardian and a protector, and in common with you feel the necessity of maintaining law and order, for the promotion of the common weal. Equally unfound is the charge, that this population fills the almshouses with paupers—and increases, in an undue proportion, the public burdens. We appeal to the facts and documents which accompany this memorial, as giving abundant refutation to an error so injurious to our character.

Irreconcilable as your memorialists conceive the first resolution to be, the second, which proposes the repeal of so much of the laws of 1820 and 1826, as relates to fugitives from labor, is still more abhorrent to their feelings. What, let us ask, is the substance of these portions of the acts in question? Simply to take from aldermen and justices of the peace, the power of deciding upon the liberty or slavery of a man. The power is still reserved to them to issue a warrant, and cause the arrest of a suspected fugitive from labor. But the determination of his fate, a question almost as momentous as that of life or death, is referred to the intelligence and discretion of judges. And is this a defect in our law? Is it a defect, that before a man, a husband, a father, shall be torn from the bosom of his family, and consigned to chains—and doomed to hopeless slavery, he shall be heard before a judge?—that before a wife and a mother shall be borne away in

cords from her offspring, she shall be heard before a judge? Is this provision of our laws a stain upon our statute book? Rather let us ask, was it not derogatory to the character of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that she should ever have prized liberty so lightly, as to permit officers, whom to this day she does not suffer to pass upon matters of property beyond one hundred dollars, (and even then subject to the right of appeal,) whose powers were formerly limited to one fifth of that sum—to decide by their voice the permanent and irrevocable fate of a human being? Now that this enormity has ceased to overshadow the land, we can scarcely credit that it ever existed. We can with difficulty persuade ourselves to believe that in this free and powerful state, it ever could have been, that a man should be seized, without a warrant, dragged to the office of any magistrate whom the oppressor might choose to select—and from thence, at his bidding, be consigned to slavery—such was the law—such, we earnestly pray, may it never be again. Pennsylvania has revolted from the flagrant injustice. She has taken one step in advance. She has said, a justice of the peace shall not pass upon the liberty of a man; a justice of the peace shall not bear a freeholder from his house, a father from his family. No authority less than that of a judge shall inflict this blow. And is not this enough? Is it not enough that there are more than one hundred individuals in this commonwealth, the single voice of any one of whom is competent to decide the fate of a human being? Can the most hardened trafficker in human agony, desire or demand more than this? Is it not, we respectfully ask, far too great a concession to the spirit of slavery, that we should suffer even our judges to officiate as the instruments for the assertion of her claims? Compare the condition of a judge in this commonwealth, with that of a judge of the very nation from which we have wrested our liberties. Let a man of the deepest jet be brought before him, and it is the glorious prerogative of that judge to exclaim, "Your feet are on English soil—therefore you are free!"

While here, in this republican land, which has again and again proclaimed the equality of rights of all men, the judge, the American judge, the Pennsylvania judge, himself a freeman, is bound by our laws, tied down hand and foot, obliged to stifle the beatings of his own heart, to keep down his own indignant spirit, and sentence a fellow being to chains and to the lash. Is not this a sufficient sacrifice at the altar of slavery? Would it not be just, is it not to the honor of the state, do not the constitution of the state and the declaration of rights demand, that instead of the retrograde step now proposed, another be made in advance, and that the decision of a jury should be required upon so high a question as the liberty of a man? We respectfully submit it to your honorable bodies, that if the authorities of this state are to be employed in such unhappy matters, they should be obliged to call to their aid the same means of attaining to a righteous decision, as are secured to us in all other transactions of life, a *jury of twelve men*—and why should this not be? Should the most elevated individual in this community demand of the humblest and lowliest black man, five hundred and thirty-four cents, that humble and lowly man may place his cause under the protection of a jury? Then shall he be denied this privilege, when that which is dearer to him than his life, is demanded by his adversary? Your memorialists do not ask you to interfere with those rights of property which are claimed under the constitution, by our fellow citizens of other states. They simply and most respectfully ask, that if the officers of this commonwealth be invoked, if the judiciary of this state be called upon to enforce what is termed the right of property in human beings, that they shall be permitted to lend their aid only under such checks and guards, as are consistent with the feelings of the people of this state, with the spirit and letter of her constitution, and with the whole tenor of our code of laws.

In conclusion, your memorialists most earnestly pray, for the sake of humanity, for the honor of the community, in the name of freedom, they most earnestly pray, that your honorable bodies will reject, if offered for your adoption, any measures such as those which appear to be contemplated by the resolutions referred. And your memorialists will ever pray, &c.

Signed in behalf of a numerous meeting of the people of color, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the day of January, 1832.

JAMES FORTEN, Chairman.  
WILLIAM WHIPPER, } Secretaries.  
ROBERT PURVIS,

From the Philadelphia Friend.

## FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Many erroneous opinions have prevailed, with regard to the true character and condition of the free colored people of Pennsylvania. They have been represented as an idle and worthless class, furnishing inmates for our poor houses and penitentiaries. A few plain facts are sufficient to refute these gratuitous allegations. In the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, by the census of 1830, they constituted about eleven per cent, or one ninth of the whole population. From the account of the guardians of the poor, printed by order of the board, it appears that of the out-door poor receiving regular weekly supplies, the first month, 1830, the time of the greatest need, the people of color were about one to twenty-three whites; or not quite four per cent, a disproportion of whites to colored, of more than two to one in favor of the latter. When it is considered that they perform the lowest offices in the community, the avenues to what are esteemed the most honorable and profitable professions in society, are in a great measure, if not wholly closed against them, these facts are the more creditable to them. One cause of this disproportion, which we presume is but little known, but which is worthy of special notice, will be found in the numerous societies among themselves for mutual aid.

These societies expended, in one year, about six thousand dollars for the relief of the sick and the indigent of their own color, from funds raised among themselves.

Besides, the taxes paid by the colored people of Philadelphia, exceeds in amount the sums expended out of the funds of the city for the relief of their poor. If my limits permitted, I could proceed to show by fair inferences from well ascertained facts, and by sound reasoning, based upon principles in political economy which are generally admitted, that so far from being a nuisance or a burden upon the community, the free colored people of Pennsylvania are a valuable acquisition to the state. Perhaps these topics may be examined at another time. One thing more I will mention before I dismiss the subject. Much has been said in favor of separating the two races, African and European. The condition of both, it is contended, would be benefited by their living apart, in separate communities. Now so far from admitting the correctness of this opinion, I believe the very reverse to be true. I think it may be conclusively shown that, in the present state of things, the condition of both is greatly benefited by their living, as they now do, in the mutual exchange of advantages.

The whites are elevated, in the scale of civilization and refinement, by the lower and most menial services being performed by the colored race. For if not performed by them, they would necessarily have to be performed by whites. And on the other hand, the colored people are gradually receiving that intellectual culture, which is derived from their in-

tercourse with a people whose opportunities of improvement have been greater than theirs.

*An upright and independent Judiciary.*—When the King of Prussia had determined to build what is called the Palace of Sans Souci, a part of his plan was to connect the new building with the old, by a pleasure ground. A mill occupied part of the ground which he wished to include in his new garden. He offered to buy it, and pay for it considerably more than the value. The miller refused to part with it, and declared he would never leave the mill which had descended to him from his forefathers. The King himself in one of his walks conversed with the miller upon the subject. Becoming at length irritated with the man's obstinacy, he said to him, "You seem not to be aware that I am the master, and that I can take by force what you refuse to give up to me." "Oh," replied the miller, "you cannot frighten me in this way: We have judges at Berlin." Frederick was so pleased with the answer that he abandoned his plan, and formed his garden so as not to interfere with the patrimony of the miller. Happy is the condition of a people, when a poor miller, upon seeing the oppressor's uplifted arm, can console himself with the reflection, that there are judges in the land.—*Lord Dov-*

## MORAL.

## THE PRAYER AT SEA.

Father Supreme!—to thee our prayers ascending,  
From the bosom of the heaving deep,  
From the wide waste of troubled waters—blending  
With the free winds that o'er the billows sweep,  
Far and resolute—wilt thou not attending  
List to the voice of those who watch and weep?  
Over the vast world of waters still thou movest,  
In the dark rushing of the billowy main;  
Yet oft, with mercy's gentle voice, reprovest  
The storm to calmness,—and we see thee then  
Arching the clouds with glory—for thou lovest,  
Even on the tempest's verge, to smile again.  
Hast thou not measured out the seas, and given  
Bounds to the whirlwind, which its rage adjust?  
And shall we not adore thee?—Whom in heaven,  
Or whom on earth, beside thee, shall we trust?  
We by thy breath, through Ocean's surges driven,  
Like the lost sea-spray, or the scatter'd dust.  
Whom shall we fear beside thee?—Men, but thinking  
On thy unfathomed depths, despair and die;  
Earth sees thy GOD, and trembles—Ocean, sinking  
Through his dark caverns, leaves his borders dry.  
The Heaven of Heavens, before thine anger shrinking—  
Rolls like a scroll away, and shuns thine eye.  
Whom shall we love beside thee?—Seas may sever  
Hearts whose fond ties are but the wreaths of earth,  
Wreaths of fast fading flowers which bloom, but ever  
Die with the hour that gives their fragrance birth.  
Thy love, unchanging and unending, never,  
Saviour—oh never can we speak its worth!  
Didst thou not veil thy glory, and, descending,  
Dwell for our sakes in grief—and stoop to be  
Even with the humble, humblest—poor and weeping  
By the rough mountain paths, or troubled sea?  
Now thou dost hear our lone cry ascending—  
Whom shall we trust, Redeemer,—whom but thee?  
On—let the winds sweep on—our prayers before thee,  
Frighten with our sighs and sorrows, shall appear—  
On—let the waves heave onward—we adore thee.  
We trust, love, serve thee—how then shall we fear?  
Even though thy tempests overwhelm us, we implore thee,  
This, only this—be Thou, our refuge, near.

## TO YOUNG MEN.

Do the Young Men engage with the interest they should, in the various philanthropic and benevolent exertions of the day? Are they really aware that every public undertaking to banish vice and national error from our land, claims not only their countenance, but also their unlimited efforts? Who, let us ask, are to experience the benefits from the accomplishment of the designs of those societies which are aiming entirely at the public welfare? And who, let us share in the rich harvests of the future, whose seed has been sown by those devoted philanthropists, who, although they will probably never partake of the happy results, have fearlessly advocated the improvement of our nation's character? They have labored to convince men of the dangers of Intemperance. Stimulated to action by the suffering and unhappy condition of the victims of bondage, they have plead the cause of Liberty, appealing to humanity, justice, and mere, for the correctness of their principles. The all-destroying, sinful War-System, has been attacked, and powerfully too. Its immense sacrifices have been estimated, and its practice proved to be anti-christian, and entirely at variance with every moral trait which should characterize a nation. These worthy reformers have enforced their principles, "Whether men will hear or whether they will forbear." Jealous for their country's virtue and honor, they have wrested earthly with man; warning him against the evils which are destroying her character and prosperity. Laboring for the cause of righteousness, they have humbly raised their eyes to heaven, and fervently uttered their prayers to God, for his blessing and assistance in their holy designs. Thanks be to Him for what has already been accomplished, through the intercession of His faithful messengers of good.

Young Men, will you be indifferent to the highest interests of yourselves and your country? What is your duty but to manfully oppose Intemperance; a vice, which, if not resisted, will deprive you of the enjoyment of society—of your reputation, and domestic tranquility and happiness. Looking at its effects, we could sigh over the weakness of humanity, and wish that every effort within the grasp of human power, might be directed towards its suppression. Can you listen to the rattling chain and heart-chilling pleadings of yonder fellow-being, called a Slave, and still control the pulsations of freedom and humanity? Will you not also, come up to the holy banner of Peace, which has been waved, so invitingly, around your heads, by that patriotic, worthy band, and volunteer your services and influence, to preserve the lives of your countrymen, and prevent the human misery incident to war? Defending at the same time, your country's sacred honor, and opposing Sin!—Young Men